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EDWARD BELLAMY, EDITOR.

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The industrial system of a nation, as well as its political system, ought to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

"The plea that the sweating process in the clothing business is unavoidable," says the Boston Transcript "is of a piece with the reasoning that only by the unpaid system of slavery could cotton be produced cheaply." This is well said and the historical parallel is complete.

The discussion of the affairs of the New York Life Insurance company, is furnishing abundant material for arguments in favor of some sort of government insurance system, which should furnish the insurer what no private insurance company ever did or ever does, absolute security.

We commend Russell Sage to the society of psychic research. He makes his living by gambling in Wall street, and now he wants back the \$5,000 he gave to Union Seminary, because Rev. Mr. Briggs is not orthodox enough in his theology. All this sounds like a Gilbert and Sullivan

libretto. But it isn't; it is history, and American history, too.

"Water power," says Prof. Ely, "which is one of the conditions of industry, ought to be public property, regulated by the public, instead of private property." Coal, which is another and indeed, more important condition of industry, ought also to be public property. If Prof. Ely's principle is accepted, the coal mines and their output both come under the head of public business. We, in Massachusetts, propose to force this issue.

The First Six Months.

With this number The New Nation completes its first six months. Turning back, it is pleased to note the constantly increasing prominence of nationalism as a common topic of remark in the public press, in the pulpit and among legislators. A new national party has sprung up having for its main spring of action a patriotic resentment at the alarming growth of corporations and the money power, and proposing for remedies a circulating medium independent of the gamblers, and a system of transportation independent of railroad wreckers. In both cases the appeal of the party to the government as the proper and natural resource is pointed enough to challenge the sympathy if not the support of nationalists. During the next six months The New Nation expects to see even a more marked advance upon the high road of nationalism. It may come through the initiative of the municipalities or through legislation; but it is coming, and that assurance is deepened by the sense of general unrest at the present order of things. The extension of the principle of popular government to the industrial system is the only way out, and the people are beginning to see it.

Mr. Ingalls Once More.

Ex-Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, seems to have fully entered the lists as the champion of the money power against nationalism. He has followed up his speech at Glen Echo, on which we commented last week, with a paper in Truth, in which he further seeks to discourage the hope, of late gaining such hold on the people, that society may be reorganized for the benefit of all, instead of continuing to exist as hitherto for the benefit of a few only. He finds it strange that, "while the general progress of the race has from century to century been slowly upward, and the plane of its activities is higher now than at any period hitherto, the disquiet and uneasiness have become intensified, and are more eager and pronounced than at any former time in history."

Did Mr. Ingalls never observe that when he bought a new hat, instead of being satisfied, it made him dissatisfied with his last summer's suit of clothes, and that, after buying a new suit of clothes to go with the hat, he found himself logically compelled to adopt a new necktie and pair of shoes, which, before this fatal tendency to discontent set in, had seemed well enough? It is precisely because the race has adopted higher standards that it is dissatisfied, and requires that all things shall become new. Mr. Ingalls adds:

Strangely enough, the agitation is more profound in the United States where the restraints of caste, law and privilege are lighter, the opportunities for success more uniform, and the conditions of happiness and prosperity more stable and abundant than elsewhere. The protests against social order are nowhere so violent, nor the doctrines of sedition, plunder and anarchy so offensively announced and advocated as under this government which was builded upon the foundation of liberty, justice, equality and the fraternity of mankind.

As for the doctrine of "sedition, plunder and anarchy," the class which advocates that is at present small, although men like Mr. Ingalls are doing their best to multiply its recruits. As to those who protest against the present social order, they are many and swiftly multiplying, and the reason is precisely the fact which Mr. Ingalls seems to think should operate the other way, namely, that "this government was builded upon the foundation of liberty, justice and the fraternity of mankind." It is because the superstructure has belied and falsified the foundations and the people are just beginning to realize it, that they are in revolt. They are waking up to the fact that, while they have been occupied with their business, conspirators have stolen away the republic. They find that their boasted equality has disappeared, that their liberty has become a mockery, and that they are fast passing under the yoke of a plutocratic despotism, more sordid and pitiless than any the old world ever saw. At first amazed and dismayed at the spectacle of their undoing, their mood is swiftly changing into a passion of righteous indignation, which shall presently snap like threads the meshes of the net about them, and astonish the world once more with a revindication and reestablishment of human equality in this western world upon a basis too deep and broad ever more to be shaken.

Descending from generalities to particulars, Mr. Ingalls notes, as chief among the demands of the reformers, governmental control and ownership of the railroads and telegraphs. He says:

The advocates of this scheme refer to the administration of the post-office department as an illustration of the feasibility and economy of their plan; but in this they are singularly unfortunate, for that department has never been successful financially, and many millions are annually appropriated from the general revenues, to make up the deficiency.

Everybody knows that nothing would be easier than for the government to make a princely revenue out of the post-office, if it aimed to do so and fixed rates accordingly; but that, on the contrary, it has been its express policy not to make any profit, but to reduce postage whenever the revenue was likely to approximate the receipts. When, in view of this recognized fact, Mr. Ingalls criticises the post-office as not "successful financially," he is trifling with his audience. In our opinion, the conduct of the post-office ought to be such as to make receipts balance expenses, but no more. This rule will be found necessary as to all government undertakings, as government control is extended. The fact that it does not pay expenses is, however, evidently no

proper criticism on the efficiency of government control at present, because that is not the idea with which it is managed.

Mr. Ingalls declares that "the government is the worst served of all employers," and adduces as proof the fact that salaries are generally larger and hours of labor fewer in government employ than in other work. This is true as to salaries and hours of labor; and that is one reason why we expect the people to turn nationalists as fast as they get to understand the advantages of substituting the government for private capitalists, as their employers. But, while salaries are larger and hours of labor shorter in government employ, it by no means follows that the government is the "worst served of all employers." The efficiency of servants is proportioned not directly but inversely to the inhumanity of employers. If that were not so, slave labor would be the most profitable instead of the least so. The proper way to put it is that the government is the most humane of all employers, and therefore is destined before long to attract all the workers to its service.

Mr. Ingalls criticizes the fact that, if registered letters or postal notes are lost in transmission, the government refuses to be responsible. This argument is of the nature of a boomerang. It is the opposition of the banks and the express companies, which wish to keep the transmission of money to themselves, that has prevented a proper system of government accountability in this respect. It is indeed often found that, wherever there is a defect in government service, it is owing to favor shown to some competing private business. Mr. Ingalls goes on to say:

If these properties (telegraphs and railroads) are to be "nationalized," they must either be confiscated or purchased; and if bought, the money must be raised by taxation. The amount already invested is nearly five times as great as the national debt at the close of the war, the payment of one half of which has taken 25 years. To operate them would require several million employees working eight hours a day, with thirty days' leave of absence each year and necessary exemption from civil service. With such a force of stipendiaries at its command an administration could only be dislodged by revolution.

We beg the reader to note the number of misstatements in this single paragraph. The purchase money would not be "raised by taxation," but by sale of bonds at two per cent interest; which bonds would be redeemed by a sinking fund representing but a small part of the saving made for the people by the difference between two per cent and the five and eight per cent now collected of them by the railroads as interest on stocks and bonds. The national debt at the close of the war was between three and four billions. The total capitalization of the railroads is about 10 billions. Ninety millions is the capitalization of the Western Union, the other telegraph lines making the sum up to about one hundred millions. Instead of being five times the debt at the close of the war, the combined capitalization of railroads and telegraphs amounts, therefore, only to about three times what the debt was. There is no comparison at all between the conditions for payment of these two debts. The payment of the war debt was a dead pull. There was nothing to show for it but dead men and a defeated rebellion. For the railroad debt, there would be, on the other hand, a property to show, which would abundantly provide for its payment out of only a small part of the profits. It is hard to choose between misstatements so wild as these, but perhaps the most reck-

less is that which follows, namely, that to operate the railroads and telegraphs under government management would take "several million employees, working eight hours a day, with thirty days' leave of absence each year." The present total force of railroad employees, by the most recent figures, is 700,000. The telegraph employees by the census of 1880, were 22,804. Allowing for increase of the latter, the total may be called 750,000 men. Suppose they work eight hours instead of ten, and that this requires, as it would not, an addition of one fifth to the force. This would make the total 900,000 men. Suppose they were allowed a month's vacation a year, which is twice what anybody would propose at present, this would involve an addition of one twelfth to the force, making the total 975,000 men. This, then, is what Mr. Ingalls' "several millions" simmers down to, even granting all his assumptions.

No doubt, however, that an administration which had even 900,000 men "at its command" would be very strongly posted. But far from contemplating any such result, the advocates of public ownership propose that, not only all future government departments but all existing departments as well, shall be organized upon an absolutely non-partisan basis. The Australian railroad service, which is owned by the government, is so organized and there is no complaint that it is used for political purposes. Far from being "at the command" of the administration, no body of voters in the country would be so well protected from political intimidation or influence as those is in the government service. The ex-senator concludes his paper with this challenge:

Majorities are powerful, but the contest between brains and numbers can have but one conclusion. Presented to the serene, self-confident, penetrating intelligence of the Anglo-Saxon race, these chimeras will be rejected. We shall not surrender the splendid results of individualism, liberty and self-government to the destructive passions of those whose sole qualification to administer the affairs of others is their confessed inability to take care of their own.

If we understand this, and it seems pretty clear, Mr. Ingalls serves notice on the American people that the majority is not to govern any longer in this country. Well, we shall see.

That Honest Dollar.

If there is any one thing that hard-money men agree upon, it is that a gold dollar is an honest dollar. The province of money begins and ends with its availability as a medium of exchange. An honest dollar, like an honest man, will be on hand when wanted, and will take a vacation only when the demands of duty cease. An honest man does not embark for Europe when he is needed at home. It was only December last when the honest dollar went to Europe in large numbers. This dollar was needed at home. Its absence meant bankruptcy and financial ruin,—not because the people were poor but because they were not supplied with a sufficient medium of exchange for their commodities. In a word, it was not the honest merchant but the honest dollar that brought disaster to thousands.

But what was the matter of the honest dollar? And is there any danger that it will repeat its escapade? Sterling exchange on gold has fallen below the exporting point, as a profitable transaction in itself, and yet the export continues, no less than \$70,000,000 since March. Experts tell us that there is not much above \$350,000,000 gold in the country.

If the strain continues, under some hidden law in the perambulation of the honest dollar, it will be a grave question whether this wealthy nation will be able to continue gold payments. This peril is not because we are poor, for the nation does not exist which can match us in wealth and resources. It is simply because we, having a feeling that an honest dollar is a dollar that acts honestly, are content to sleep in that faith.

The bank of England has a charter which provides that its metal reserve shall not fall below 30 per cent of its circulation. No less than four times in 50 years, the honest gold sovereign has been struck with the tourist's spirit of our honest American dollar, and the British cabinet using functions conferred by Parliament has given the bank permission four times to lower their gold reserves.

Now, is it not about time to cease lauding the American gold dollar and ascribing to it virtues which it nor any other precious metal ever possessed?

Pauper Patients for Experimental Purposes.

Occasionally shocking stories get into print of the neglect and abuse of the "free" or non-paying patients at public hospitals, but only those whose work has enabled them to know something of the inside of public hospitals are able to realize how often they are "habitations of cruelty" instead of houses of mercy for the moneyless poor for whose benefit they nominally exist. In too many cases the eminent physicians and surgeons who appear upon the list of the medical staff, are mere figure-heads and the actual dosing and cutting is left to young medical and surgical apprentices learning their trade.

Perhaps the worst instance of this sort of inhumanity yet on record, has just been reported from Germany, where Prof. Bergmann and Dr. Hahn, two of the leading physicians of Germany have confessed to experimenting ever since 1887 upon patients in the Berlin hospital with inoculations of the virus of cancer, without the knowledge of the victims. Their excuse is that they were acting in the interests of medical science and were careful to pick out patients who were past recovery. So far as medical science is dependent upon a supply of pauper patients for experimental purposes, we fear that nationalism will interfere with it.

The Reported Dissension Among the German Socialists.

There seems to be a somewhat bitter dissension among the socialists in Germany. At this distance it is of course impossible to form an entirely accurate idea of the merits or demerits of the quarrel. So far as we can judge from the despatches in the daily press, the factions differ rather as to methods than ultimate ends. One faction, headed by the veteran Bebel and Vollmar, do not believe that socialism ought to or, rightly understood, does conflict with patriotism. They also maintain that progressive legislation in favor of immediately practicable reforms in the direction of the socialistic ideal, rather than violent revolution, should be the policy of the socialists. The opposed faction, one of the leaders of which is Wildberger, violently opposes both the idea of patriotism and the policy of peaceful progress by legislation. "It is on the battlefield and not in Parliament," said Wildberger at a recent meeting in Berlin, "that socialism

will triumph." On the one hand, Vollmar speaking for the patriotic socialists, declares that they are ready to fight for Germany if assailed by any foreign power. On the other hand it is a dictum of the opposite faction that devotion to country is treason to mankind, and that the true socialist, being a citizen of the world, has no business to defend his country against another, or to feel any special interest in it. The old socialistic party, as that of Bebel and Vollmar is called, seems to be strong in Munich, but in Berlin the young or revolutionary party, has undoubtedly the preponderance. At a meeting week before last at Berlin, to elect delegates to the coming International socialist congress at Brussels, dispatches state the audience hooted Bebel down when he warned them against violent outbreaks, and selected as two out of three of the delegates sent to the congress, men of known anarchistic sentiments.

The Coal Issue to the Front.

The proposition that municipalities should establish public coal yards for the purpose of providing citizens with coal at wholesale rates, was brought forward by the nationalist club of Lynn, in this state, early last winter, and one of the earlier issues of *The New Nation* contained an interesting set of facts and figures, brought out by the Lynn club, as to the saving which the plan would effect for citizens. The municipal lighting issue being then to the fore, and requiring all the fighting force the nationalists had conveniently available, the coal proposition was not pressed.

The recent petition of the Second Nationalist club, of Boston, asking the city government to establish a public coal yard and give the people fuel at cost, has now, however, once more brought the measure to the front and it will henceforth be kept there until it becomes an adopted institution. The nationalists have proposed many more radical reforms than this, but none has seemed to meet such a prompt and hearty response from the press and people. Not only in the east, but through the west the idea has been taken up by the papers and the likelihood is that unless Boston hurries up, it will lose the credit of leading off in the new departure.

Speaking of coal, we recommend our readers to glance at the editorial elsewhere reprinted from the *Boston Advertiser*, as a striking illustration of the way the new leaven is working in the meal.

Three Newspapers in an Awkward Position.

Those independent newspapers which were at first popularly called mugwumps but which are now thoroughly committed to the democratic party, are in danger of losing their identity. The *New York Evening Post* and the *New York Times* in the metropolis, and here in Massachusetts, the *Springfield Republican*, have reached a perilous crisis in their career. They will soon be gasping for breath if they do not break from the thralldom of partisan advocacy. It is the habit of these papers to review regularly the business situation. They, with equal regularity, consider only its fiscal and superficial features. It has suited them to ignore the coming of an economic upheaval. Thus, to their readers, nationalism came unheralded, and the people's party was a positive surprise. The movement and the party are not identical; one is a philosophy and the other a device, in

the presence of a great mighty peril. But both are of small moment to the mugwump mind.

The strongest of the three newspapers above mentioned and the one which usually acts as peace-maker and coacher is the *Times*. Until within a month, this journal has led a snug chorus of ridicule at the rustic notions of finance entertained by the Alliance, but this merry mood is not growing on the performers. About a fortnight ago, the *Times* gave evidence of a glimpse at the dark background against which the figure of the impoverished farmer is projected. "The chief source of popular discontent in this country for years," it observed, "has been the growth of corporate power and its defiance of public authority and popular rights. It is this more than anything else that has produced the various movements intended to effect radical changes in legislation and disturb the existing order of things. It has been the source of anti-monopoly organizations, of socialistic labor parties, of farmers' alliances, and of nearly all the efforts to make head against the regular political parties."

Closely following this important utterance, comes an editorial of the *Times* on "state socialism," and some bright morning it will announce that nationalism, which we hear discussed in all walks of life, will be formally announced as a bit of news. After that may be expected some candid questions about the condition of this mighty nation.

It is not enough to make fun of people in distress. Masses of men can better formulate their grievances than their remedies. They know more about wounds than medicine. President Lincoln might have closed the war without settling the question that gave rise to it, undoubtedly; if the radicals about John Brown's grave had not dinned the cause of outraged justice in the ears of the nation.

The time will soon come when our mugwump friends will forget to apply the thumb rule to the victims of competition. They will ask how it comes about that 25,000 men own one half the property of a nation 62,000,000 strong? How it is that one man can legally lock up gold, thus dislodging millions in securities deposited as collateral, and then in the night of a financial panic, light his way with the glitter of this very gold to the wreckage, and cart off the plunder? How comes it that 10,000 children die annually from starvation in the richest country in the world, and a tenement population revolting enough to offend the eye of an eastern potentate work on without hope, while Henry Clews builds \$40,000 onyx marble bath-rooms and Vanderbilt his palatial hen-houses?

The Fourth of July celebration in the 106 counties of Kansas were rousing people's party demonstrations. The partisan press seems not to have heard the news.

Ouida, in the *North American Review* for August, hurls a broadside against the state. She entertains a lower class European notion of what the state is, and consequently, struggles in the mire after this fashion: "The state is the enemy of all volition in the individual: hence it is the enemy of all manliness, of all force, of all independence, and of all originality." The state is the product of volition in the individual according to our American way of thinking, and when the individual rises to the full appreciation of this fact, the present economic system will be laid away to rest.

THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.

The master of a trade may proudly sing:—

“I am a power on the earth, and earn
The right to call myself a man. I turn
The wheel of progress, and I feel a king
Among the useless drones. The shame and sting
Of charity I know not, for I learn
To use my gifts. The highest plane I yearn
To reach, to merit all that life may bring.”

“Who earns not, steals his dinner,” thus the old
Proverb runs. We may labor with the heart,
If not with hand and brain. In every part
The world is full of agony untold,
That cannot be assuaged by all the gold
Of earth; and yet, a kindness done may start
The tears that sooth all pain—may pluck the dart
From festered wound, which else might keep its hold.

All honor to the brown and skilful hand,
The swell of muscle and the nerve like steel,
That conquers obstacles, that turns the wheel
Of progress round; they cultivate the land,
And build the mighty temples, vast and grand;
They labor for the good and common weal
Of all mankind, and bear the royal seal
Of mighty labor's independent band.

HENRY COYLE.

TALKS ON NATIONALISM.

By the Editor.

Mr. Smith, who has joined the nationalists, meets a Favorably Disposed Person, who, however, would like to have less said about making everybody economically equal.

SMITH. — Why don't you join us? You seem to be favorably disposed toward Nationalism.

F. D. P. — Yes, I don't mind saying that I am. In fact, between you and me I'm getting to be a pretty good nationalist. The truth is, according to the way things are going now, I don't see anything, unless it be nationalism, that is going to save the country from everlasting smash within ten years. There is one thing I'm not quite ready for though, and I think you would be wise if you did not make it quite so prominent in your propaganda.

SMITH. — What is that?

F. D. P. — Your doctrine of economical equality, that is to say, that the provision made for all is to be the same. A good many, like myself, are quite ready to go in for the other features of nationalism, but are not prepared for this.

SMITH. — Of course not. Nobody is. I am sure you never heard a nationalist advocate the application of that principle under the present industrial conditions. It necessarily presupposes the complete nationalization of industry, and can only be fully introduced when that has been accomplished.

F. D. P. — But why should it be introduced at all? Why should it be regarded as a necessary feature of nationalism?

SMITH. — It ought not to be very difficult to make you see that. What is it we nationalists propose? We ask a

republican nation to substitute for the present individualistic industrial system, a national partnership for the organization of industry and the distribution of its products. Now these people are already political copartners, and as political copartners they are asked to ordain, establish and continuously to maintain the proposed industrial partnership, which must rest upon the political organization. As political copartners they are equals. Is anybody so exceedingly simple as to suppose that these equal political partners will consent to become parties to an unequal industrial partnership? Look at it another way. Nationalism proposes that the national organization, hitherto merely political, be extended over the industrial field. The principle of the national political organization is one of absolute equality; is it likely that in extending the national organization its fundamental principle will be abandoned? Why, my dear fellow, there are many ideas on the possible developments of nationalism, on which there is room for difference of opinion, but as to its being characterized by an equal law of service and an equality of distribution, there is not the slightest. That equality will be the law of the new nation is predetermined by the fact that it will be the work and will of a people who are already political equals.

F. D. P. — That is a point I had not thought of. You claim, then, that quite apart from any questions whether or not, philosophically speaking, economical equality ought to be the law of nationalism, it must be so, owing to the pre-existing and predetermining political conditions in this country.

SMITH. — That is precisely it. The trouble with the people who object to economical equality as a feature of nationalism is that they approach the subject from the point of view of the socialists, which is European and suggested by European conditions, instead of from the point of view of the nationalists, which is American and suggested by American conditions. According to the socialists, the coming order will be chiefly a result of social and industrial evolution as distinguished from political and national evolution. Granting the accuracy of this view, the coming social order might conceivably be variously organized as to the principle of equality. Nationalists, however, declare that the evolution of the new order, while affected and promoted by social and industrial evolution, is primarily a political and national evolution, the first step of which is logically the establishment of a political republic, with the subsequent extension to the industrial organization of society of the principle of equality already established in the political organization. A new industrial system emerging directly from an aristocratic or monarchical society might recognize and perpetuate inequalities; but established by a republican nation, it must be founded upon the principle of equality. Therefore, whether or not economical equality should characterize

socialistic regimes which might be established in Europe, it must inevitably be the foundation of any new industrial system established in America. In one sense, there would be no objection to dropping the talk about economical equality as the goal of nationalism; it would not make a particle of difference about the result. But in another and more important respect, it would be suicidal, for it would kill the soul of nationalism, which is the principle of human brotherhood,—the enthusiasm of humanity.

F. D. P.—That's very pretty; but is it fair? After all, should a man not have what he produces, even though it means that some have more than others? Justice before generosity.

SMITH.—By all means, justice. There never yet was any generosity, for no man ever gave or could give all he owed. We owe all we are. Has not a mother a right in the strength of her son, and if a mother, then has not the great mother—humanity—an infinitely greater right? It makes me laugh to hear a man who is himself a product, claiming that he has a right to all he produces, and to nothing more. If that be so, he has no right to himself. His phrase shuts his own mouth. The only way a man may excuse himself for enjoying this earth and his own life is by the perpetual tribute of a social duty measured only by his gifts.

F. D. P.—I will not say you are not right. I know in my heart that you are; in fact, your whole talk is a gross plagiarism from the New Testament. But I am pretty conservative; in fact, it is my conservatism which, in face of the present ruinous tendency of business, has made me a nationalist, and I confess that the idea of a universal economic equality is rather startling.

SMITH.—You must remember that it is no more and probably less startling to you, than the idea of the right of all men to an equal share in political administration was to your great grandfather. The world's precedents, save here and there a brief and ill-starred experiment, had been of kingly right and aristocratic leadership. Now, suddenly it was proposed that men should share power equally,—the sage with the ploughman, the wealthiest with the poorest, the warrior with the cripple, the lord of a thousand acres with the humblest tenant. Your present scare ought to enable you to sympathize with your ancestors, for really that experiment was far bolder than this. And yet, who would wish it retracted? Even as you laugh at the terrors of your ancestors, in presence of the spectre of political equality, will our children laugh at the alarm of their parents at the advent of equality in the social sphere.

"THE CRUISE OF A LAND YACHT."

We believe most persons will agree in saying that they owe far more of their knowledge of foreign countries and of remote portions of their own to accounts of travel and adven-

ture than to school text-books or formal works of information. Especially vivid and lasting are the impressions received when the account of travel takes the form of a story. Mr. Sylvester Baxter, in his "Cruise of a Land Yacht," has made a contribution to this class of literature which we believe is likely to take high rank. His "land yacht" is a magnificently appointed private car, which serves as the rolling home of a party of Bostonians, suitably assorted as to age and sex for the purposes of romance, on a three-months' trip through the United States and Mexico. It is with Mexico that the experiences of the party are chiefly connected, and to follow them is to obtain a feeling of familiarity with our southern neighbors which volumes of geographical and statistical detail would not convey. The analogy with a sea story, which the title of the book suggests, is admirably maintained by the breezy style of the narrative, and if the story had been as studiously unprofitable as it is instructive, it could not have been more entertaining. A quality of the book which commends it particularly to *The New Nation* is the infusion of good nationalist doctrine, appearing in the form of comments upon popular conditions and public institutions, which are the more effective for being obvious deductions from actual object lessons. The illustrations, which are by Mr. L. J. Bridgman, of Boston, are admirably executed, and the general get-up of the volume is a specimen of book-making highly creditable to the Authors' Mutual Publishing Company of Boston.

DIVERS THINGS.

At the International Congregational Council, held in London, Rev. Washington Gladden attacked the acquisition of great wealth in a few hands. Workingmen, he said, had not a proper share of the general increase of wealth. Without going the whole way of the socialists, he believed the state might do much by controlling industries like railways, tramways and water-works. Ben Tillet, who was warmly received, condemned wholesale scientific gambling, with men and women as counters, and with human happiness at stake.

Journal of Knights of Labor: When the cities, as a rule, own and manage their water-works, lighting plants, street railways, ferries and telephones, as they might very speedily do if organized labor threw its voting power into the scale and co-operated heartily with the nationalists, a vast army of working men and women would be placed outside of crushing and degrading competitive conditions, and be in a considerably better position as regards general conditions of service than employees of private correspondence or individuals. This object lesson would have its effect in strengthening the demand for better conditions and levelling up wages, and giving a greater impulse to the movement for public control. The result would be that many businesses now considered entirely beyond the scope of public management would be undertaken by municipal bodies, and the status of the employees materially improved.

The Industrial Brotherhood of Canada is out with a significant platform. It demands that all money be issued by the national government that occupancy and use be the only title to the possession of land; that Parliament loan to the farmers money at the lowest possible rates; that the surplus population of our towns and cities be offered inducements to settle on northwest lands; that the government obtain the control of all steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones and railways, and that measures be adopted for the safety of workers. Among other things it urges the prohibition of the hiring out of convict labor; of the employment of children under 15; of foreign contract labor, and of expenditure for the importation of emigrants. The platform binds its adherents to endeavor to have the present competitive wage system superseded by a co-operative industrial system.

ECCE DEMOS!

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The insignificance of the individual (2) under the monarchical regime has been the mournful theme of philosophers time out of mind. It was taken for granted by the founders of the republic that with the ultimate triumph of popular government, every voter would be heard and counted, and that the individual would take his proper place in the body politic. Nothing like this, however, has yet happened in the United States. "Whether a commonwealth be monarchical or popular, the freedom is still the same," said Hobbes. And is the loss of individuality destined to be the same under monarchy and democracy? This is, indeed, a startling question. Prof. Huxley said, in the January (1890) number of the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*:

Freedom used foolishly, and equality asserted in words, but every moment denied by the facts of nature, are things of which, as it seems to me, we have rather too much already. If I mistake not, one thing we need to learn, is the necessity of limiting individual freedom for the general good, and another, that although a decision by a majority of votes may be as good a rough-and-ready way as can be devised to get political questions settled, yet that theoretically the despotism of a majority is as little justified and as dangerous as that of one man.

Theoretically, the despotism of the majority is greatly to be desired. The guarantee of true individuality rests in a higher development of society. There is, from a speculative point of view, no antagonism between society and the individual. It is only in and through the ennoblement of society, that the individual can attain to the broadest autonomy. The high bred horse is under a despotism of sterility; the rose is under a despotism of beauty; the prize scholar in our public schools is under a despotism of knowledge. Prof. Huxley makes the point, that practically, the despotism of the majority is as dangerous as that of one man; but let him remember that as there is a science of higher development, and that both the monarchy and democracy have failed thus far to adopt a system that challenges in men the noblest motives.

The mere form of government will not solve the problem of society. This is a mortifying confession to Americans. But history is outspoken upon this point. The rule of the majority has accomplished much. It has, indeed, demonstrated that the autocrat is not the best means for registering the decrees of state; but it has not yet shown that it is proof against certain evils which afflict monarchical countries.

And now we approach the paradox of the age! Americans are becoming the most as well as the least individualized people upon the earth. Partisan spirit is causing voters more and more to lose their identity; upon all other subjects the worship of originality is pushed to extremes, even to the confounding of genius and eccentricity. Outside the walks of politics, we, like the Greeks, are running after unknown gods. The virtue of a thing lies in its novelty, as things go now-a-days. To do as others have done seems to be considered a reflection upon one's mentality. The crowd that listens to a preacher asks first: "Is he original?" not "Is he sound?" The popular demand is becoming unmistakably more superficial. We are competing for novelties. The popularity of the colored jubilee songs brought to notice this change in the public tone. It was a religious character sketch, and it took. Many sensational preachers "take" for the same reason.

The popular reading is more scrappy and superficial than formerly. The demand is for short "taking" stories, or history with a "go" to it, or newspapers lurid with the exploits of social adventurers. There is not a serious-minded editor in the country who does not view the cheapening of the quality and fibre of daily journalism with alarm. The strife for the favors of a frivolous public became apparent with the spread of the Sunday paper. All of the Sunday editions are more sensational than their regular daily issues, and this common quality of light entertainment is emphasized

by the fact that most of the articles are prepared by syndicates and sold to a large circle of papers. The taste for novelties and sensation has tainted our art, cheapened our literature, and marred our drama. The decay of a moral purpose and motive is in line with a prophecy of De Tocqueville recorded some 50 years ago:

The reproach I address to the principle of equality is not that it leads men away in the pursuit of forbidden enjoyments, but that it absorbs them wholly in the quests of those which are allowed. By these means a kind of virtuous materialism may ultimately be established in the world which would not corrupt, but enervate the soul and noiselessly unbend the springs of action.

The distinguished Frenchman more than hints at the other side of our paradox, when he says: "I am of the opinion that in the democratic era, which is opening upon us, individual independence and local liberties will ever be the product of artificial contrivance; that centralization will be the natural form of government." This centralization in party matters, now upon us, is necessarily at the expense of the autonomy of the individual. Faith in the majority is beginning to induce a certain apathy of the rank and file in both of the great parties. People do not suffer themselves to be disturbed about untoward events in the political world as formerly. During John Adams's administration the American envoys to France were informed that no treaty would be made with the United States unless the latter would negotiate a large loan for the Directory. This so enraged Americans that half the nation, including the phlegmatic president himself, went about with black cockades. It was really a small matter, as France had a right to drive a close bargain.

A speaker of the House of Representatives in our day, upon the other hand, makes a ruling that puts a new interpretation upon a clause in the United States Constitution, and violates a century of precedents. He may be right, but how does it happen that on a point of law with every record against the new interpretation from the days of Washington, men should divide on party lines? It is a serious matter, but there are no mourning cockades abroad. The surrender of a whole party at a given signal, upon such a grave question, argues a serious decline in political morals.

It is not the despotism of the majority that we should fear so much, and which Prof. Huxley deprecates, as the inertness of the majority that encourages political exploits on the part of the selfish minority. And yet this is not so much a reflection upon democratic rule as a sympathetic affection, as a physician would say. There is a disease working upon the vitals of society. It is selfishness which is rampant in spite of the influence and work of the churches. All business is a struggle for self, and this struggle is undermining society. "Ecce demos!" exclaims the monarchist, but the evil does not arise from popular rule and is not characteristic of it. Neither Congress nor the throne room have yet been able to cope with the malady.

[To be continued.]

The city council of London has recently voted to make eight hours a legal day's work for municipal laborers, by a vote of 62 to 30. One year ago when Frederick Hamilton, then the only workingman in that body, offered a similar resolution, he was simply laughed at.

The governor of Nizhnee-Novgorod, Russia, has warned the committee of exchange that speculators forming corners to raise the price of grain, or otherwise trading on the growing necessities of the people, will be punished and expelled from his jurisdiction.

The French government has issued a decree providing that engineers and stokers on French railroads must not be actively employed for more than 12 hours a day.

The Grand Trunk railway has reduced the salaries of employees 5 and 10 per cent, the greater reduction applying to men receiving \$750 a year.

POVERTY AND COMPETITION.

A BRUTALIZING SYSTEM IN A WEALTHY COUNTRY.

The Sweating Process Producing a Class of Paupers, Which Charity is Unable to Prevent.

If a lady of fashion drops her fan, half a dozen men will jump to recover it.

If a poor man, out of work, falls behind in his rent, the chances are that his family will be turned into the street, babies and all.

It is a brutal system, and how can well-fed men listen to well-written sermons upon some vague contingency of probation after death, while starvation is staring at the ceiling, and children crying for bread in vain?

This is no artificial contrast. Business is brutal; charity incomplete and the church beyond the reach of the masses.

And what is to become of the children? A Boston man in a recent communication to a local paper, all but defends the "sweating system," lauds competition and sweeps away the subject of the victims of the sweating process with the mendacious remark: "Only the incapable lapse into pauperism." A baby is an incapable, and its lapses are natural and proper, according to this discreditable logic. The Boston Transcript administers a deserved rebuke to this kind of brutality in the following passages:

The wayfaring man, though he may have been hardened by years of world conflict, cannot pass through the most crowded sections of the North End, or the "poor quarters" of the city generally without being shocked by the brutality of the street children. Little toddlers, just able to talk, are also able to swear, and when their little anger is aroused their language is a most frightful mixture of profanity and obscenity. They fight among themselves with the fury of young animals. Babies pound one another, and children not yet old enough to go to school square off in quite the approved pugilistic manner. There is a childish heathendom at our very doors that is as much deserving vigilant attention as any other social problem. There are churches in the worst sections, and the clergy of the denomination which claims to have the faith of the poorest element of our foreign population is numerous enough. But either these clergymen have given up in discouragement, or else they are slothful guardians of the flock, prone to slumber, for the wolves appear to have their own way. We are aware that much mission work is being done, and that its effect is not always apparent on the surface. Every such mission is worthy of aid. Some people even think that the little heathen of the North End are worthy of as much attention as the little heathen of Central Africa.

Let us give an instance of poverty in New York, which we clip from the columns of the New York Tribune:

A boy, named Joseph Burns, 11 years old, entered the Thirty-fifth street station house last night sobbing bitterly. When questioned by Sergt. Chapman, the lad said that his mother and five of the children were sitting on the sidewalk in front of No. 343 East Forty-second street. They formerly lived in the house on the third floor, but were dispossessed for non-payment of rent. He also said that one of the children was sick with the measles, and was lying on two chairs in the street. Sergt. Chapman sent an officer to bring the woman and children to the police station. They were a pitiful sight to look at. The mother said that no food had passed their lips for twenty-four hours. The children were all crying for bread, and Sergt. Chapman put his hand into his pocket and pulled out a bill. He ordered the doorman to get them something to eat. When it was placed before

them they acted as though they had never seen bread and meat in their lives. The woman said that her husband, Michael, a lineman, had left home in the morning to look for work. He cried when he went away, and said that he could not stand by and see his children starving. He was anxious and willing to work, but luck was all against him. "If I do not find work," he said at starting, "don't blame me, wife, if I do not return, because the sight of the children crying for food cuts me to the heart." Up to the time that the family were taken to the station house he had not returned. The wife said that they were only one month behind in rent, and could not understand why the landlord was so severe with her.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE FIELD.

Some Campaign Notes.

The reformers of Minnesota have disappointed the expectations of their friends of the old parties. There is every reason to believe that the representatives of the various wings that recently met at St. Paul arrived at a basis of harmony which will place the people's party in Minnesota in a strong position. A committee of 21 was elected and this committee has organized as follows: Chairman, T. J. Meighen, of Fillmore county; secretary, Louis Hanson, of Clay; treasurer, Andrew Steenerson, of Polk.

Allen W. Thurman, who presided over the Ohio democratic convention at Cleveland, last week, warned the farmers against government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and other Alliance planks, as the "rankest kind of socialism." Mr. Thurman spreads a tempting dish before the farmers, — a vigorous tariff agitation. But the Ohio farmers are not taking their sentiments from stump speakers this year.

The republican senatorial convention at Paducah, Ky., on the 15th, decided not to nominate a separate candidate but to support Mr. Graham, the people's party candidate.

Judging from the platform of the labor federation of Texas, recently adopted at Sulphur Springs, the Texas wage earners are not many removes from the people's party movement.

It is a choice assortment of Farmer's Alliance "News" which is floating about the country at present. The fact is the farmers are organizing, and the publishing of misleading paragraphs will not stop the good work.

The United States Treasurer Foster hails from Ohio, in which state is situated Cincinnati, the scene of a very interesting conference last May. At that conference was Herman J. Schulties, sitting as a delegate from the District of Columbia. He was subsequently made a member of the national committee of the people's party, and is working in full accord with that organization to-day. Secretary Foster recently appointed Schulties on the pauper immigration commission, and sent him to Europe. Hasn't Secretary Foster undertaken a big job in attempting to break up the people's party by such means?

T. V. Powderly has issued a circular stating that he was instructed by the General Assembly of Knights of Labor, in 1890, to correspond with other organizations in reference to holding a convention for the purpose of formulating a platform of principles, to be voted for at the polls, but only three officers of other labor organizations have signified a willingness to co-operate. The date named by him for the convention was July 29, but he states that since a platform was adopted at Cincinnati which is being generally discussed, and since the confederation is to meet again Feb. 22, 1892, all contemplated action should be postponed till 1892. It is understood that the Knights are to unite in the conference of Feb. 22, 1892, and all organizations that agreed to the

call for July 29, are invited to correspond with General Secretary John W. Hayes, 814 North Broad street, Philadelphia, into the meeting next February.

The Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance held a rousing mass meeting at Adrian, Mich., the other day, and all the speaking and all the cheers were for the people's party.

U. S. Senator Gorman, the most adroit politician in the democratic ranks, has surrendered to the Farmers' Alliance upon the issue of the governorship. He has withdrawn his machine candidate and now supports Frank Brown, who was for years president of the Maryland agricultural fair association.

The Evening Post finds that the Kansas farmers are paying their mortgages, and it exclaims: "The case is closed." No one charges that the Kansas people do not want to pay their debts. The point is that they cannot, nor can any living man make a living under the present industrial and financial conditions. The case will be closed when the system is reformed.

HARVEST OF THE SMUTTED SHEAVES.

Nationalism the Obvious Remedy.

Philadelphia Times: Philadelphia, with her city treasurer in prison; with one bank president in prison and another a fugitive from justice; with two bank cashiers under heavy bonds on criminal charges; with from half a million to a million of the city money stolen or wasted; with nearly a million of state money involved in the robbery; with the associates of the embezzlers shivering and skulking from exposure, and with the corrupt political power that has had money and plunder as its god struggling to save itself from the flood-tide of retribution — what a fearful harvest of smutted sheaves we are gathering. And if we cast our eyes over the great commonwealth the same robbery and shame force the blush to the cheek of every honest son of the state. A respected senator, suddenly thrown into the rotten political system of our city, insensibly drifted from honest aims to worship at the shrine of money in politics. He is now broken in fortune, branded as a thief, a fugitive from the law, and his associates are wearing prison stripes at Cherry Hill, while thousands of poor depositors have been robbed of their hard-earned money. Such is our fearful harvest of the smutted sheaves. Turn again to the capital of our state, where the chosen leader of the money-in-politics system has just made his plea at the bar of the supreme court to protect him from trial in the courts of his own home where a jury of his neighbors would decide the grave issue of his imprisonment for actual or legal robbery. Only a few months ago, he was the central figure of enthusiastic multitudes shouting their heartiest huzzas to their candidate for governor; to-day he flees from the judgment of his own people and is as friendless as he is fortuneless. Truly, this is a crowded harvest of the smutted sheaves.

"Not a trust, but simply a corporation," is what the paper-box manufacturers call the combination which they have formed to go into effect Aug. 1. It is organized under the laws of New Jersey, with a capital of \$1,250,000, and comprises six of the largest concerns in the country. They hope to make a great saving of expense from each factory, doing the class of work for which it is specially adapted, instead of all kinds, as at present.

San Francisco Bulletin: The elevated railroads of New York city, which cost less than \$17,000,000, are stocked and bonded for more than \$60,000,000. This is in a measure true of most railroads in the United States, and partly accounts for the difficulty of reconciling reasonable rates with reasonable profits to stockholders.

MUNICIPAL COAL YARDS FOR BOSTON.

An Interested Spectator.

Boston Advertiser: We shall watch with interest the action of the city government upon the petition of the second nationalist club of this city, which asks for a city coal and fuel supply, in order to sell to the people at the cost of delivery. We do not know that this method is in vogue at all in this country, though it has been successfully tried in some parts of England. The nearest approach to it in this country is in Philadelphia, where the Record, a penny paper, has for some years furnished coal at cost to the consumer, gaining a great popularity thereby. The nationalists will introduce this and similar problems into the state campaign this fall, and some of them may become fully as live issues as others which have been ushered in with trumpets.

Laborers Support it Enthusiastically.

Boston Herald: But how to enable the people to obtain their coal at a lower figure has been puzzling the nationalists for some time. They now believe they have found a solution of the problem, and a way to drive the coal monopoly to the wall. Immediately upon the formation of their plans, they laid them before such labor leaders as Shields, Lloyd, Lynch, Lemon and Moulton, who unqualifiedly indorsed them, and have begun a systematic campaign among the labor organizations for a municipal coal yard. It is safe to say that no measure proposed by labor and economic reformers in this city has received such enthusiastic and unqualified support as is being given to this proposition of the nationalists. None of them are as yet willing to make any public statement in relation to the measure, but they seem to be unanimous in the opinion that nothing so broad and of such far-reaching benefit has been brought forward for many a year.

Good Politics, but he is a Democrat.

Representative Mellen, of Worcester: I see now that the nationalists are pressing their municipal coal-yard plan. This is undoubtedly a shrewd move, and I am disposed to favor it. It will touch the people, that is certain. If the nationalists here go ahead discreetly, step by step, as they are now doing, conducting their transformation act craftily, and appealing in every move to the pinched pocket of every poor man, they will draw along popular support. But, as a democrat, I think there are grave objections to their extreme measures.

Nationalists and Workingmen.

In a very candid and appreciative editorial on the petition of the second nationalist club of Boston, asking for the establishment of a fuel bureau for supplying coal to the people at cost, the Advertiser, a republican paper, says: "It is worthy of note that Mr. J. H. Mellen, of Worcester, a democrat of considerable prominence in this state, recognizes 'the value of much that the new party is aiming at.' From the workingmen's standpoint, Mr. Mellen claims, with much justice, to be able to speak for democratic workingmen as authoritatively as the men who have more than once threatened to 'read him out of the party,' and he is certainly right in that claim. The nationalist movement was not, in its incipency, 'the workingmen's party,' because its founders were not men who did much manual labor; but its objects and aims are to a large extent such as to command much sympathy from trades unions and other similar organizations, and Mr. Mellen would be far less observant than he is if he had failed to see this fact. He is quick to recognize the appeal which the municipal coal-yard scheme makes to the 'laboring' classes, and believes that it will attract popular support. The Advertiser does not dispute with Mr. Mellen on that point. The nationalists have aided in securing for the cities and towns in this state the right to sell to their inhabitants the privileges of light as well as water, and they claim that the right of selling fuel is equally necessary.

Fuel is unquestionably necessary to every large city government. — perhaps, also, as much so as water in the extinguishing of fires, and for other public purposes, and the manufacture of gas or electricity. The proposition of the nationalists is, therefore, not without reasonable appearance. At all events, one thing seems to be certain: that the proposition will come up for public action before much time has elapsed. It has not been brought into politics as yet, and it is quite possible that it will never be a political one in the sense in which the silver and tariff questions are political; but Mr. Mellen's honest expression of preference would imply that it is reasonably sure of legislative support from him, and it is very unlikely that he will be alone in the stand he has taken."

Nationalists do not Sleep in Warm Weather.

Boston Globe: Boston's nationalists are not napping these days, if the weather is warm. They are to petition the city to establish a municipal fuel department which may furnish coal at cost price to our citizens. That would be "business," surely, for the Bellamy men.

Agitating for Cheaper Coal.

New Haven (Conn.) News: Boston nationalists want cheaper coal, and are agitating for a municipal coal-yard, where fuel would be sold at cost prices.

Coal Dealers Would not like it.

Boston Transcript: There being no prospect of having coal placed on the free list, thus giving the people of New England Canadian coal at reasonable prices for their homes and manufactories, the nationalists propose to circumvent the local dealers in coal by buying at the mines, thus saving the enormous profits which they believe the middlemen realize. As it is impracticable for the organization to do this, the members will at once ask the city council of Boston to pass an ordinance establishing a "fuel department," to furnish the public fuel at cost price in such quantities as the consumer may desire. It is argued that, as the state recently bought coal at \$4.47 a ton, there is no reason why the individual should pay more. The only obstacles they fear are such as would be raised by the owners of the mines in Pennsylvania and Ohio, who may possibly combine against selling the city coal at prices that would interfere with the trade of their best customers, the retail coal dealers.

POLITICAL VIEWS.

Mr. Sumner F. Clafin, of Manchester, N. H., has published, at his own expense, an interesting brochure upon "Nationalism," from which we extract the subjoined chapter:

"It will not be strange if in these few short articles, touching the problems of the present and the near future, things of minor importance are occasionally introduced and other things of major importance excluded. You may spend a summer in the White mountains, but you will not see them all, and perhaps some of the best views you will not see at all. Inasmuch as these problems are wide as the world and diversified as the landscape, touching every human being that lives in a thousand different ways, according to the petty standpoint of caste and position from which each one views them, therefore we cannot attempt to occupy every point of view, or satisfy every selfish and trivial objection to the doctrine of Edward Bellamy. The affirmative solution of these problems, let me say, is that which argues that mankind, as a whole, are well disposed; that the evils which affect society, such as caste, crime, selfishness, pride, ignorance, vice, covetousness — yes, and infidelity toward God or man — are the results of the present iniquitous system of holding property and regulating values, and not the present cause of that system. A negative solution, on the other hand, is that which argues that mankind, as a whole, are

ill-disposed, and the evils I mentioned are therefore the cause of our present financial and social system. By an affirmative solution, admitting the common rights and common brotherhood of men, these problems of the present can be solved. By adopting the negative principle as a basis, they never can be.

"It is easy to say what has not been cannot be, but the very breath we use disproves it, for it never was a breath till we made it so. Now, in order to clear the air a little, let us state what is meant by the 'brotherhood of man' as sharing in the common wealth of the nation. As understood to-day, the brotherhood of man is a jingling phrase for the silver-tongued orator who descants upon the virtues of this political party or that, just before election, — nothing more; and the common wealth of the nation is understood as the property of the government invested in wild lands which the people bought, if they were bought at all, and which the people's money paid for, or in government buildings, which belong to the people, but which are run for the benefit of political strikers who "get there," with little regard to qualifications or character. The balance of what is termed the common wealth is, for the most part, in the hands of the privileged class; that is, the shrewd and cunning who have gobbled it, or their offspring, who neither toil nor spin, but live to pity or despise, as the case may be, those whom their fathers helped to cheat or rob out of their common right. The brotherhood of man, as sharing in the common wealth of the nation, means that every man is entitled to an equal share in the good things of life, by reason of his citizenship, and it is the business of government to educate and employ the citizen, so that he may be useful to society in whatever occupation he may voluntarily select from among those which society esteems useful. There is no reason why tilling the ground should be less productive to the willing worker than tending a bar, a counter or a desk. There is no reason why digging ditches should be less honorable, or the digger less of a man than the doctor, the clerk or the legislator. There is, therefore, no reason why one man should be compelled to labor for a very bare and meagre existence, and withstand the added insults of social ostracism, while another, who works no longer hours, who exerts himself no more faithfully, should fare sumptuously and be welcomed into a privileged class. The springs of human action, among the greater majority of adult people to-day, are, for the most part, pride, envy and hoggishness. Pride has its root in a feeling of superiority from knowing that one is better educated or more powerful than others by reason of wealth or social position. Envy rankles because of the injustice of the artificial differences raised by society. Hoggishness is partly a legacy from the barbaric times of savages, robbers and tyrants, and partly from education in modern business methods. Destroy caste and clans by rendering all men equal. Uproot envy by removing its cause, and hogs would be scarcer than they are now. But will men work unless spurred to it by necessity, or by a desire to accumulate? Most assuredly they will. A moment's reflection will convince one that among the incentives to human action the very lowest are those of need and greed. It is easy to say that if men were provided for by the government that they would not choose to work, or if all shared equally some occupations would be overcrowded, while others would look for volunteers; but it should be remembered that this cannot be proven from experience, because heretofore men have, as a rule, not chosen their occupation, but have been driven or drawn into them by the lowest motives, viz., need and greed;

"And, further, if all occupations were regarded as equally honorable, and made equally productive, there would be a great change in the motives of choice. Hundreds of men to-day are working in stores, offices, shops and mills who would not stay there 24 hours if once assured of a living at some out-door work. Then, too, under the new way of conducting business by a national system, some businesses could be dispensed with as useless, such as banks, trust compa-

nies, insurance companies, nearly all the law business of the land, hawkers, pedlers, advertisers, quacks and some others. These people and concerns would simply find their occupations gone, and most of them could enter the grand industrial army of the nation as producers, and not as they are now, — a fungus growth, caused by our absurd way of doing business. The absurdity of our business methods is easily demonstrated by the results arising from their operation. By them, we support our army of millionaires in luxury and idleness; an army of thieves in Canada, in jail and at large; an army of beats, bums and tramps, the froth on the maelstrom of society; an army of pedlers, hawkers, agents and mountebanks; an army of really useful and necessary workers, who are the prey of all the others, and from whom the others suck a vampire life; and an army of youth, from which these other armies are recruited. Is it any wonder that the youth of the land learn the lessons of life from their elders, and seek to evade useful occupation as a degrading thing, and embrace anything which will keep their hands white, no matter whether the conscience is sacrificed or not? We neglected to mention an army of retired workers, because, under present conditions, no man can retire until he has made "his pie," no matter how faithfully he may have toiled. We have the sad spectacle of an army of superannuated, attenuated, care-worn, battle-scarred old veterans of labor all over the land who ought to have been retired by reason of faithfulness and years long ago, but who are driven by the snapping eyes of the ravenous wolf of want to the treadmill, even after three score years and ten have silvered their scanty locks. This is the nation's army of shame!"

SHALL THE STATE RUN THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

The Sunny South (Atlanta): Mankind grapples with no graver problem than that involved in the never-ceasing controversy about liquor. Whosoever discusses it in a rational way is entitled to a hearing. The New Nation, Edward Bellamy's paper, has been talking about it in an original and dispassionate manner, and its views are reprinted in our columns to-day. Prohibitionists are invited to step upon the platform of the nationalists for a few minutes and take a peep through their spectacles.

A MOMENTOUS QUESTION.

Brooklyn Eagle: The complaint which sounds loudest in the ears of the world to-day is that of man's inhumanity to man. The problem which socialism advances for our consideration is the most momentous and pressing that modern civilization has to deal with. The murmurs of the multitude are as ceaseless and far-reaching as the murmurs of the sea. Labor agitation is but one of the symptoms of a vast, all-prevailing unrest. Turn where we will, society is convulsed by forces which it has no spells to lull. There are everywhere present the signs of change and revolution. In the unequal conditions under which men struggle for the means of existence is to be found the chief cause of this universal ferment.

SWEATING WILL FLOURISH UNDER EVERY FORM OF COMPETITION.

Jonathan A. Lane, president of the Boston Merchants' association, is more happy in his description of the cause of the sweating process than the true remedy. He says: "Assuming, however, that the great ready-made clothing business of this country, which not only has gone beyond anything of the kind in any other land, but is constantly increasing in its activity and enterprise, does have a tendency to create these unhappy conditions of labor in our great cities, what is the remedy? Competition in this business, as in every other, will produce these crowded city workshops, will reduce wages to a wretched pittance in

homes and families where the social conditions and physical surroundings are most unwholesome and demoralizing. This is no new thing in Boston; when the writer was a boy, poor women made overalls in North street, at prices which laid the foundations of the fortunes of their employers, whose descendants now live in Back Bay. Apart from what our boards of health and charitable organizations are able to do to relieve and remedy this class of our most needy laboring population, which always crowds into great cities — partly for the reason that such employment is there to be obtained — there is a remedy for this evil which the largest and best clothing houses in the country are and have been applying, and which only needs encouragement to increase rapidly. It is to transfer into the country both the workshops and the workers in them. In this there is abundant opportunity all over New England, especially in the larger towns, where the social conditions are more favorable than in scattered farming communities."

WHY NOT TRY NATIONALISM.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a republican, high tariff paper, is feeling very blue over the coal combination. It will eventually find that tariff or no tariff cannot kill a trust. In fact it practically admits as much when it says: "Since the collapse of the Sugar trust the meanest and wickedest 'combine' left in the country is that which the hard-coal men have formed. If they could be struck at the custom house their combination would promptly and effectively be destroyed by the Republicans. This avenue of attack, though, is not open. Anthracite coal is on the free list."

PRIVATE MONOPOLIES AND HIGH PRICES.

Prof. R. T. Ely: Why is it that it costs a person so much to live the life of an educated gentleman, participating in the benefits which civilization has brought, in an American city? Food is cheap, land is abundant, and yet an American professor or judge cannot lead the life of solid comfort enjoyed by the German professor or judge on the same or even a smaller income. When I analyze my expenditures and endeavor to explain excessive charges, the explanation is in nearly every instance private monopoly. I pay twice too much for gas, twice too much for street-car fares, twice too much for railway fares, and the charges for monopoly enter into high-priced commodities. Yet it is not merely on account of the effects on the distribution of wealth that I advocate this extension of the sphere of government, and the absorption of private monopolies by government, but on account of the political and social interests of the nation.

HOW TO ABOLISH THE SALOON.

Progressive Age (Minneapolis): In its leading editorial, The New Nation deals with the liquor question. Its position, that of government ownership and management, is the shortest way to the total destruction of the political power of the saloon. Government ownership would eliminate the motive of gain which would paralyze the arm of its now mighty enterprise. It would rid the country of the poisonous beer and whiskey which the greed of man now creates, and only such wet goods would be sold as would answer the chemist's most exact formula. This method has been tried in Norway, and has proved a benediction to the people. The rowdism of aggravated and prolonged debauch has been practically removed, and the health of the people improved. Nationalism, for this is, and would be, nationalism, would remove the most objectionable feature of the business, the saloon and its public influence, which would go most of the distance in solving the whole problem. The first step in that direction is to place the business upon its merits, that is to say, remove all tax upon it other than the same tax that

is placed upon other movable property. Abolish the internal revenue and license laws, and put it upon an equal footing with the dry goods or grocery business. This would take away from it its monopoly-breeding power. It would not thereafter be able to appeal to the cupidity of the people. Its nationalization would be a single step after its monopolistic pillars had been torn from their foundations. Why would it not be well for The New Nation to seek to influence the people's party to take this position against the liquor traffic? It could take the liquor dealers at their word who complain of the burdens of special taxation, and capture every opponent of the liquor trade who has reached his antagonistic conclusions through economic studies. The People's party would thus be enabled to gain the reformers from all ranks, without exciting the contempt that prohibition seems to arouse, when mentioned outside the pale of the prohibition party ranks. Will The New Nation join us in creating a sentiment in favor of the removal of all special tax upon the liquor business?

ANOTHER PROHIBITIONIST FAVORS STATE OWNERSHIP OF THE LIQUOR BUSINESS.

George Kempton of Sharon, who has been for years a wheel-horse among the prohibitionists of Massachusetts, has written a very significant letter to the Boston Herald in which he deals in the spirit of the broadest patriotism with the proposal of the nationalists to pass the whole liquor business over to the government to be run at cost. Mr. Kempton says: "I am more and more convinced that Mr. Bellamy's plan, as explained in The New Nation, which would abolish all saloons and bar-rooms and provides that alcoholic liquors shall be distributed at cost by salaried state agents, is the best method to be adopted until national prohibition can be enacted and enforced. The great power and influence of the saloon over the old parties would then be eliminated from our politics. This would pave the way for a healthy political party of moral strength and vigor to take the reins of government; perhaps the peoples' party and the prohibition party combined. Then the nation would take a long step forward in the line of progress and reform."

NEBRASKA ALLIANCES PASS NATIONALIST RESOLUTIONS.

The Lancaster (Neb.) Farmer's Alliance has passed the following resolutions:

First. The industrial system of a nation, as well as its political system, ought to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Second. When in the course of business consolidations, in the form of trusts or private syndicates, it becomes evident that any branch of commerce is used for the behoof and profit of a few men, at the expense of the general public, we believe that the people should assume charge of such commerce through their national, state and municipal governments.

The Alliance also requests all subordinate alliances, Knights of Labor, and Citizens' Alliance assemblies to take action upon the same, and that reform papers of the state give it wide publication.

A SOUTHERN PAPER WAKING UP.

Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution: The fact is paternalism has been running over the country in a riotous way for a long time, and we are not near the end of it yet. Possibly there will be a reaction, but the trend of things is in the direction of extreme paternalism, and both parties seem to be fully committed to the movement. We have small excuse for denouncing paternalism in Europe when we are traveling the same road at a rapid pace. It is not in order for the pot to call the kettle black.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

First, That in view of the great social, industrial and economical revolutions now dawning on the civilized world, and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.

Second, That we heartily indorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, in 1889; at Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and at Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

(a) The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit, hence we demand the abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank-notes, we demand that legal-tender treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis; without damage or especial advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be legal-tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes, when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent per annum on non-perishable products as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

(b) We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

(c) We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by alien and foreign syndicates and that all lands held by railroads and other corporations, in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them, be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

(d) Believing the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand that taxation, national, state or municipal, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

(e) We demand that all revenues—national, state, or county—shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

(f) We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on income.

(g) We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

(h) We demand the election of president, vice-president and United States senators by a direct vote of the people.

Third, That we urge united action of all progressive organizations in attendance upon the convention called for Feb. 22, 1892, by six of the leading reform organizations.

Fourth, That a National Central committee be appointed by this conference, to be composed of a chairman to be elected by this body, and of three members from each state represented, to be named by each state delegation.

Fifth, That this Central committee shall represent this body, attend the convention called for Feb. 22, 1892, and, if possible, unite with that and all other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected, this committee shall call a national convention not later than June 1, 1892, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president.

Sixth, That the members of the Central committee for each state, where there is no independent political organization, conduct an active system of political agitation in their respective states.

Additional resolutions presented and adopted:

Resolved, That the question of universal suffrage be recommended to the favorable consideration of the various states and territories.

Resolved, That while the party in power in 1869 pledged the faith of the nation to pay a debt in coin that had been contracted on a depreciated currency basis and payable in currency, thus adding one billion dollars to the burden of the people, which meant gold for the bondholders and depreciated currency for the soldier, and holding that the men who imperilled their lives to save the life of a nation should have been paid in money as good as that paid to the bondholder, we demand the issue of legal-tender notes in sufficient amount to make the pay of the soldiers equal to par with coin, or such other legislation as shall do equal and exact justice to the Union soldiers of this country.

Resolved, That as eight hours constitute a legal day's work for government employees in mechanical departments, we believe this principle should be further extended so as to apply to all corporations employing labor, in the different state statutes of the Union.

Resolved, That this convention denounces, in unmeasured terms, the action of the directors of the World's Columbian exposition on May 19, in refusing the minimum rate of wages asked for by the labor organizations of Chicago.

Resolved, That the attorney-general of the United States should make immediate provision to submit the act of March 2, 1889, providing for the opening of Oklahoma to homestead settlement, to the United States supreme court, so that the expensive and dilatory litigation now pending there be ended.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Lesser Forms of Business Combination toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Knights of Labor alliance held in Lynn, last week, at which delegates from Lynn, Marlboro, Quincy, Boston, Peabody, Salem, Woburn, Somerville, Newton Centre, Roslindale, and many other cities and towns in the state, were present, resolutions were adopted that a committee be appointed to wait on all city and town officers and ask them to favor the bill recently in the Legislature, that each municipality own and control its own electrical and gas plant that is used in the public lighting.

Iowa.

The Investigator: God may have made the millionaire in the first instance, but he did not start him out with a corporation charter and a title to a part of the earth in his pocket. A lot of his fellows have very foolishly given him these things through what they have been pleased to term "the best government the world ever saw."

Pennsylvania.

A correspondent of the Pittsburg Trades Journal says that in a woolen mill in Lycoming county, men, who have worked there for 18 years, get but \$1.12 per day, and the engineer gets but \$1 per day. The best wages paid in the mill is \$1.50 a day, and from that down to 50 cents, and the hours of labor are from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m.

The work of combination continues, as shown in the preparations being made to consolidate the National Tube Works company, the Monongahela Furnace company, the Republican Iron Works and Boston Steel and Iron company, all of Pittsburg. The new company will be organized under the laws of New Jersey and its capital stock will be \$11,500,000.

A large number of coke workers, who returned to work when the strike was declared off, were recently discharged for attending a union meeting in Pittsburg.

California.

The low rate of wages paid to women employed in the canneries in the state is receiving the attention of the labor and reform bodies. At a meeting preliminary to taking steps to organize the operatives, one girl stated that her average wage was \$1.16 per week, and the statements of several others showed that \$1.90 a week was a good average; another woman, who acted as an overseer, said she received \$10 for four weeks work.

Woodland is to construct municipal water-works at a cost of \$50,000.

Illinois.

The passage of the anti-trust law in the state has quickened the inventive faculties of parties who would suffer from its enforcement. The wholesale grocers of Chicago are considering a proposition from a St. Louis tobacco firm to make the grocer the agent of the trust, under conditions which will guarantee maintenance of prices. The plan has the sanction of the tobacco trust, and dealers think it will be adopted by many of the trusts.

Ohio.

Allusion has already been made to the ordinance passed by the city government of Cleveland, reducing the price of gas to 60 cents per thousand. The law is such that the ordinance must be published twice before it goes into effect, and before that was done one of the companies served an injunction on the city to restrain the second publication, and the plan of the companies is to repeat the operation by the

several companies, keep the matter in court year after year, and thus postpone the reduction indefinitely. Gen. Meyer is seeking to have the injunction dissolved, and recently when the case came before the court, one of the attorneys for the gas companies asked for delay until next term on account of his intended trip to Europe, but the judge refused, and the case is now being tried. The corporations are barking up the wrong tree if they believe that they are longer winded than the people.

West Virginia.

Wheeling has had municipal gas works for 20 years, and having reduced the cost of gas to consumers from \$3.50 to 75 cents a thousand feet, is confident that it can make a saving by owning an electric light plant. The city council therefore appropriated \$100,000 for that purpose, and now the members of a commission appointed to investigate the matter are visiting various cities for the purpose of examining the systems in use.

Maine.

The Bowdoin Paper company of Brunswick, has paid its second semi-annual division of profits to its operatives, amounting to over seven per cent on the wages paid in the past six months. The total bonus for the year amounts to 15 per cent on the wages earned. The plan is to be continued for another term of six months and if found successful, a more comprehensive plan will be devised.

Alabama.

An English syndicate has bought the property of the Sheffield Land company and the plant of the Alabama Iron and Railway company. The property consists of three large blast furnaces and nearly two thirds of the town of Sheffield. The price paid was \$3,000,000.

Indiana.

The new tax law of the state requires eight statements from corporations, as follows: The name and location of the company; the amount of capital stock authorized; the amount of capital stock paid up, and the number of shares in which the capital stock is divided; the market value, or if it has no market value, the active value of shares of stock; the total amount of indebtedness, except, that for current expenses, and excluding the amount paid for the purchase and improvement of property; the value of all tangible property; the difference in value between all tangible property and the capital stock; the name and value of each franchise or privilege enjoyed by such corporation. The county board of tax review has increased the assessment of nearly all the corporations doing business in Indianapolis. It has fixed the valuation of the Citizens' Gas company at \$1,200,000, which is \$200,000 more than returned by the company. The valuation of the Citizens' Street railway company was raised \$400,000 above the return, and the assessment was increased \$300,000 over last year. The assessment of the banks has been increased all the way from 20 to 100 per cent.

Miscellaneous.

The following, from a regular correspondent of The Labor Advocate of Toronto, Ont., will forcibly appeal to many on this side of the line: Occasionally I am asked what those who are called social reformers hope to make by their efforts—whether they expect that their share of the wealth now held by the millionaires will be large enough to pay them for their trouble. It is not often I get mad, but such foolish questions as these do rile me. They cannot conceive of anyone doing anything, save and except to benefit themselves at some one else's expense. Now, while it is impossible not to recognize the fact that some men have control of far too much wealth, yet I believe, in fact I know, that it is a desire to improve the miserable lot of those who are worse off than ourselves that should and does animate all active workers in this movement.

NEWS FROM THE CLUBS.

[Items of information concerning the work and proceedings of nationalist clubs cordially solicited. We call attention to sundry advertisements of clubs in another column. Our rates for three lines for one year, with privilege of changing matter at will, are \$10.]

New England.

A member of the Boston Second Nationalist club writes as follows: "The Boston Herald in an editorial upon the municipal coal yard proposition says, 'We fail to see any gain that could accrue from an arrangement of this kind that could not be equally attained by reasonably conducted co-operative action.' Is the Herald prepared to lead in a co-operative scheme of that kind? Will it follow the example of the Philadelphia Record, and furnish coal to the people at cost? Will it give its great influence to any plan that will reduce the price of coal to the poor people in this city? Again the Herald says: 'We imagine that those whose annual purchases of coal run from 10 to 40 tons a year, obtain their fuel with no greater tax in the way of excessive prices or commissions than they pay in buying their other supplies.' But how about the people who are obliged to buy in small quantities? will the Herald claim that the prices that they pay are not excessive? That is the class of people whom it is designed to especially benefit; but as the nationalists do not believe in exclusive benefits to any one class of people, they think the establishment of a municipal coal yard should be for the benefit of all classes in the community. The same argument that applies to the supplying of school books to the children of both rich and poor, applies with equal force here. We think the Herald would hesitate to claim that there is as free competition in the coal trade as in the other commodities; for the Boston coal dealers have formed an association to regulate the price, and no one outside that combination can engage in the business, as the mine owners stand by and strengthen the local dealers. The fact that it has become a close monopoly is the reason why a municipal coal yard becomes a necessity. If the Herald will find some way of return to the honest competition of the past, it will have solved many of these questions that are crowding to the front for solution. But, so long as combinations are formed among a few individuals for their own exclusive benefit to the detriment of the masses, so long will a proposition similar to that of a municipal coal yard find favor among the people."

West and South.

The Altruist community, of St. Louis, has concluded to remove to Kingsland, Ark. A wealthy southerner, E. M. Davies, of Kingsland, has contributed materially to the enterprise, and the community will shortly be hard at work manufacturing and farming upon its principles of business and fraternity. A. L. Voorhees, recently a member of a Brooklyn (N. Y.) nationalist club, will give information to any one addressing him at Kingsland, Cleveland Co., Ark.

THE NEW NATION.

[From our issue of Jan. 31.]

Why a New Nation? Why will not the old one do?

These are some of the reasons why it will not do: In the old nation, the system by which the work of life is carried on is a sort of perpetual warfare, a struggle, literally to the death, between men and men. It is a system by which the contestants are forced to waste in fighting more effort than they have left for work. The

sordid and bitter nature of the struggle so hardens, for the most part, the relations of men to their fellows that in the domestic circle alone do they find exercise for the better, tenderer and more generous elements of their nature.

Another reason why the old nation will not do, is, that in it the people are divided, against nature, into classes: one very small class being the wealthy; another and much larger class being composed of those who maintain with difficulty a condition of tolerable comfort constantly shadowed by apprehension of its loss; with, finally, a vastly greater and quite preponderating class of very poor, who have no dependence even for bare existence save a wage which is uncertain from day to day.

In the old nation, moreover, half the people—the women, are dependent upon the personal favor of the other half,—the men, for the means of support; no other alternative being left them but to seek a beggarly pittance as workers in a labor market already overcrowded by men. In this old nation, the women, are, indeed, as a sex, far worse off than the men; for, while the rich man is at least independent, the rich woman, while more luxuriously cared for, is as dependent for support on her husband's favor as the wife of the poorest laborer. Meanwhile, a great many women openly, and no one can tell how many secretly, unable to find men who will support them on more honorable terms, are compelled to secure their livelihood by the sale of their bodies, while a multitude of others are constrained to accept loveless marriage bonds.

In this old nation, a million strong men are even now vainly crying out for work to do, though the world needs so much more work done. Meanwhile, though the fathers and husbands can find no work, there is plenty always for the little children, who flock, in piteous armies, through the chilling mists of winter dawns into the factories.

In this old nation, not only does wealth devour poverty, but wealth devours wealth, and, early by year, the assets of the nation pass more and more swiftly and completely into the hands of a few score individuals out of 65,000,000 people.

In this old nation, year by year, the natural wealth of the land, the heritage of the people, is being wasted by the recklessness of individual greed. The forests are ravaged, the fisheries of river and sea destroyed, the fertility of the soil exhausted.

In this old nation, under a vain form of free political institutions, the inequalities of wealth and the irresistible influence of money upon a people devoured by want, are making nominally republican institutions a machine more convenient even than despotism for the purposes of plutocracy and plunder.

These are a few of the reasons why the old nation will not do, and these, in turn, are a few of the reasons why men are looking and longing for The New Nation:—

In The New Nation, work will not be warfare, but fraternal co-operation toward a store in which all will share alike. Human effort, no longer wasted by battle and cross-purposes, will create an abundance previously impossible.

More important far, the conditions of labor under the plan of fraternal co-operation will tend as strongly to stimulate fraternal sentiments and affectionate relations among the workers as the present conditions tend to repress them. The kindly side of men will no longer be known only to their wives and children.

In The New Nation, there will be neither rich nor poor; all will be equal partners in the product of the national industrial organization.

In The New Nation, the dependence of one sex upon another for livelihood, which now poisons love and gives lust its opportunity, will be forever at an end. As equal and independent partners in the product of the nation, women will have attained an economical enfranchisement, without which no political device could help them. Prostitution will be a forgotten horror.

In The New Nation, there will be no unemployed. All will be enabled and required to do their part according to their gifts, save only those whom age, sickness or infirmity has exempted; and these, no longer as now trodden under foot, will be served and guarded as tenderly as are the wounded in battle by their comrades.

In The New Nation, the children will be cherished as precious jewels, inestimable pledges of the divine love to men. Though mother and father forsake them, the nation will take them up.

In The New Nation, education will be equal and universal, and will cover the entire period of life during which it is now enjoyed by the most favored classes.

In The New Nation, the wasting of the people's heritage will cease, the forests will be replanted, the rivers and seas repopulated, and fertility restored to exhausted lands. The natural resources of the country will be cared for and preserved as a common estate, and one to which the living have title only as trustees for the unborn.

In The New Nation, the debauching influence of wealth being banished, and the people raised to a real equality by equal education and resources, a true democratic and popular government will become possible as it never was before. For the first time in history the world will behold a true republic, rounded, full-orbed, complete,—a republic, social, industrial, political.

These will be some of the characteristics of The New Nation, to the advancement of which, till it shall have utterly replaced and supplanted the old nation, this paper is pledged.

MEETINGS OF NATIONALIST CLUBS

Are held as follows, and all persons interested will be gladly welcomed at any of these meetings:—

BOSTON. First Nationalist Club. Reception rooms at 184 Boylston street; open daily. Information and publications on Nationalism furnished to any desiring them. Regular meeting of the Club, 2d Wednesday of each month.

HAVERHILL. First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Public meeting, every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at 73 Merrimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.)

LYNN, MASS. First Nationalist meets every Wednesday evening, at Park hall, opposite City hall. Correspondence and pamphlets solicited. John T. Broderick, Cor. Secretary, 33 Elm street.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909 1/2 Market street.

SOUTH FRAMINGHAM, MASS. Club does not meet regularly. W. D. McPherson, secretary, solicits correspondence and pamphlets for distribution.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Nationalist Club, No. 1 meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Nationalist hall, 609 F street, N. W.

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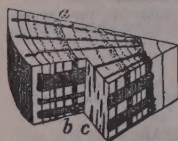
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